

MURAT IŞIK

Oghuzic and Kipchak Characteristics in the Book of Leviticus, Gözleve Bible (1841)

Abstract

The Hebrew Bible has long been translated into the Karaim language. Such translations are important for Karaim rituals and help to preserve the Karaim language, which has recently become endangered. Although the language of these translations shows some common features, the translations of different Karaim varieties show some differences, as well. Therefore, the present study analyses part of a translation of the Tanakh into Karaim that was published in Crimea in 1841. The language of the so-called Gözleve Bible is Crimean Karaim, an extinct Eastern variety of Karaim that belongs to the Kipchak (North-Western) group of the Turkic languages. As such, typical Kipchak features are expected to have been preserved in written Crimean Karaim sources. However, the language of this translation also shows Oghuzic characteristics. Thus, this study will demonstrate some specific linguistic characteristics of the Oghuz branch of Turkic as well as their distribution throughout the Book of Leviticus in the Gözleve Bible. Specifically, it will focus on the phonetical, morphological, and lexical features.

Keywords: Karaim, Bible Translations, Turkic languages, Gözleve Bible, Oghuzic, Kipchak

1. Introduction

This article aims to present Kipchak and Oghuzic characteristics of the Book of Leviticus in the Gözleve Bible. The so-called Gözleve Bible is a translation of the Tanakh and is also known as the ‘Tirishqan translation’, as it was printed in four volumes in Mordechaj Tirishkan’s printing house¹ in Gözleve/Eupatoria in 1841. The Gözleve Bible was

¹ B.S. Eljaševič, *Karaimskij biografičeskij slovar’ (ot konca XIII v. do 1960)*, Moscow 1993, p. 189.

dedicated to the wedding of future Russian Tsar Aleksander II and was also a celebration of the new administrative and religious rights granted to the Crimean Karaims.²

The Book of Leviticus contains laws and priestly rituals and can be found on pages 184–240, spanning fifty seven pages of the Gözleve Bible and consisting of twenty seven chapters. The language of the Gözleve Bible reflects both Kipchak and Oghuz Turkic characteristics, which has been discussed already in the literature. According to Shapira, the Gözleve Bible was compiled from an earlier Karaim manuscript and the language was Tatarised by the editors to make it understandable for the locals.³ Based on a comparison of a Western Karaim translation (copied no later than 1687)⁴ with the Gözleve Bible, Németh suggested that it would be incorrect to accept the idea that Karaim Bible translations from 19th-century Crimea were ‘Tatarised’ or ‘vulgarised’ since the earlier translations had major similarities to the Gözleve Bible.⁵

In Crimea, several Turkic languages have been spoken. In regard to Crimean Karaim, Radloff⁶ claimed that it was identical to Crimean Tatar, whereas Samojlovič⁷ stated that Crimean Karaim and Crimean Tatar were two different languages. However, Shapira⁸ denied the existence of Crimean Karaim, claiming that it was a ghost dialect and that it never existed.⁹ This consideration was later criticised by both Jankowski¹⁰ and Németh.¹¹ In this study, Crimean Karaim will be treated as an extinct Eastern Karaim variety.

From the fifteenth century until the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, the Ottoman Empire controlled the Crimean area,¹² and there existed an Ottoman Turkish influence in the entire Crimean area (see Doerfer, Schönig).¹³ Therefore, it should be natural to see

² D. Shapira, *The Karaim Translation of the Book of Nehemia Copied in the 17th Century's Crimea and Printed in 1840/1841 at Gözleve, on the Copyist of the Manuscript, and Some Related Issues*, “Karaite Archives” 1 (2013), pp. 134.

³ D. Shapira, *Turkic Languages and Literatures of the East European Karaites*, in: Meira Polliack, *Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources*, Leiden-Boston 2003, p. 696.

⁴ According to Németh, in folio 1 v^o, there is a list of the Sultans reigning ‘in Bursa and Constantinople’ in Hebrew, which helps to understand that the copyist must have copied the manuscript before 1687, but not earlier than 1648.

⁵ M. Németh, *A Crimean Karaim Handwritten Translation of the Book of Ruth Dating from 1687*, “Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları” 26.2 (2016), p. 202.

⁶ W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Nördlichen Türkischen Stämme. Theil VII. Die Mundarten der Krym*, St. Petersburg 1896, p. xvi.

⁷ A.N. Samojlovič, *O materialah Radlova po slovesnosti krymskih tatar i karaimov*, in: idem, *Izbrannye trudy o Kryme*, Simferopol 2000, pp. 112–121 (re-edited from 1917).

⁸ Shapira, *Turkic Languages and Literatures of the East European Karaites*, p. 662.

⁹ According to him, originally, the Karaim texts known from the Crimea were composed in the West and only copied in the peninsula.

¹⁰ H. Jankowski, *Crimean Turkish Karaim and the Old North-Western Turkic Tradition of the Karaites*, Poznań 2015, p. 202.

¹¹ Németh, *Crimean Karaim Handwritten Translation*, pp. 209–211.

¹² G. Ágoston and B. Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, New York 2009, pp. 158–160.

¹³ G. Doerfer, *Das Krimosmanische*, in: J. Deny et al., (eds.), *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 272–280. C. Schönig, *Osmanische Einflüsse auf das Krim-Areal*, in: E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld and B. Podolak (eds.), *Studies on the Turkic world. A Festschrift for Professor Stanisław Stachowski on the occasion of His 80th birthday*, Kraków 2010, pp. 107–119.

Oghuzic influence on Crimean Karaim, as well. However, due to the complex situation in Crimea, it is difficult to claim whether the non-Kipchak features in Crimean Karaim texts were directly influenced by Ottoman Turkish or via Crimean Tatar (see Németh).¹⁴ Thus, the language of the corpus reflects both Oghuzic and Kipchak characteristics. In the Turkic languages, it is widely known that the possibly original forms are still preserved in the Kipchak Turkic,¹⁵ whereas changes in certain consonants and/or suffixes can be observed in the languages of the Oghuz Turkic group.¹⁶ As a Kipchak Turkic language, Crimean Karaim sometimes displays parallelism with Oghuz Turkic features in the Book of Leviticus. However, aside from exceptional cases, the original Karaim and Kipchak features can be predominantly found throughout the Book.

In the following sections, some of the common characteristics of the Karaim Bible translations will be examined. Later, the Kipchak and Oghuz Turkic characteristics found in the Book of Leviticus of the Gözleve Bible will be discussed. The distribution of these features and their proportions in the Book may help to define the extent of Oghuzic influence on the corpus. Phonological, morphological, and lexical examples from a Halitch Karaim¹⁷ Bible translation will be compared with the Tirishqan translation. Other Kipchak languages (Kazakh, Crimean Tatar) and Oghuz Turkic languages (Turkish,¹⁸ Azeri) will also be mentioned.

2. Common Characteristics of Karaim Bible Translations

The Karaim Bible translations are well studied (see Zajączkowski,¹⁹ Gordlevskij,²⁰ Jankowski,²¹ and Shapira²²). Recently, portions of as yet unpublished translations have also been published (see Shapira,²³ Olach,²⁴ and Németh²⁵). The language of the

¹⁴ Németh, *Crimean Karaim Handwritten Translation*, p. 200.

¹⁵ L. Johanson, *The History of Turkic*, in: *The Turkic Languages*, New York and London 1998, pp. 100–101.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 98.

¹⁷ I would like to thank Zsuzsanna Olach for giving me the necessary data, which are unpublished parts of the Abrahamowicz Bible. In this study, the relevant Halitch Karaim examples are taken from the Book of Leviticus in Abrahamowicz Bible in order to compare with the Gözleve Bible. Therefore the Halitch Karaim and Gözleve Bible examples are from the same chapters of the Book of Leviticus.

¹⁸ Turkish data were provided by the author, a native speaker.

¹⁹ A. Zajączkowski, *Przekłady trenów Jeremjasza w narzeczu trocko-karaimskim*, “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 8 (1931–1932), pp. 181–92.

²⁰ V.A. Gordlevskij, *Leksika karaimskogo perevoda Biblii*, “Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR” 5 (1928), pp. 87–91.

²¹ H. Jankowski, *A Bible Translation into the Northern Crimean Dialect*, in “Studia Orientalia” 82 (1997), pp. 1–84.

²² Shapira, *The Karaim Translation of the Book of Nehemia*, pp. 133–198.

²³ D. Shapira, *A New Karaite-Turkish Manuscript from Germany: New Light on Genre and Language in Karaite and Rabbanite Turkic Bible Translations in the Crimea, Constantinople and Elsewhere*, “Karaite Archives” 2 (2014), pp. 143–176.

²⁴ Zs. Olach, *A Halich Karaim Translation of Hebrew Biblical Texts*, Wiesbaden 2013.

²⁵ Németh, *Crimean Karaim Handwritten Translation*, pp. 161–216.

Karaim Bible translations shows some common, specific features. For example, the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ol* ('that') to function as the definite article (i.e. to render the Hebrew definite article ה) occurs in the Gözleve Bible, in a Halitch Karaim Bible translation (Abrahamowicz Bible),²⁶ and in the North-Western Karaim sample presented by Németh (see 2015b²⁷–c²⁸).

In the Turkic languages, the order of the elements in a genitive construction is 'possessor+possessed item', e.g. 'Sons of Aaron' appears in Turkish and Azeri²⁹ as *Harunun Oğulları* and in Kazakh³⁰ as *Haronnın Uldarı*. However, *Uwulları Aharonnun* in the Halitch Karaim Bible translation and *Oglanları A(h)ar(o)nnıng* in the Gözleve Bible (Lev 3:8) represent the inverse order. Although this characteristic is attributed to Slavic influence (see Berta),³¹ it is also possible to claim that it has been influenced by the Hebrew syntax (see Kowalski,³² Olach³³) or that both Slavic and Hebrew syntax might have affected it.

3. The Individual Features of the Book of Leviticus in the Gözleve Bible

In this chapter, the Oghuzic and Kipchak characteristics of the Book of Leviticus will be compared, and phonological, morphological, and lexical items will be discussed. The aim of this discussion is to demonstrate the highly-influenced chapters, predominant characteristics, and Oghuzic-Kipchak doublets of the Book, as well as their proportions.

3.1. Phonological Features

In the Oghuz languages, the voicing of initial unvoiced plosives (such as k-, p-, t-) in certain words can be observed,³⁴ e.g. *getir-* 'to bring', *güverjin* 'pigeon', and *gün* 'day' in Turkish. The initial k- characterises these words in the Kipchak languages, e.g. *keltir-* 'to bring', *kigirtsin* 'pigeon', *kin* 'day' in Halitch Karaim. In the Book of Leviticus, the relevant examples occur as *getir-* 'to bring' (Lev 4:14), *gögürçün* 'pigeon' (Lev 5:7) and *gün* 'day' (Lev 5:24), which clearly show the voicing of the initial k-. In the Book, this voicing appears 371 times in 24 different items: *gün* 'day' (111), *getir-* 'to bring' (39),

²⁶ Olach, *Halich Karaim Translation*.

²⁷ M. Németh, *An Early North-Western Karaim Bible Translation From 1720. Part 2. The Book Of Ruth*, "Karaite Archives" 3 (2015), pp. 49–102.

²⁸ M. Németh, *An Early North-Western Karaim Bible Translation from 1720. Part 3. A Contribution to the Question of the Stemma Codicum of the Eupatorian Print from 1841*, "Karaite Archives" 3 (2015), pp. 103–118.

²⁹ The Azeri example was provided by Seylan Musayeva (age: 22), a native speaker.

³⁰ The Kazakh example was provided by Ademi Orazaly (age: 21), a native speaker.

³¹ Á. Berta, *West Kipchak Languages*, in: L. Johanson and É. Csató (eds.), *The Turkic Languages*, Routledge, New York and London 1998, p. 306.

³² Tadeusz Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, Kraków 1929, pp. xxxviii–xxxix.

³³ Olach, *Halich Karaim Translation*, pp. 153–154.

³⁴ Johanson, *The History of Turkic*, p. 98.

geräk/gerek ‘needed, necessary’ (12+2), *girgiz-* ‘to let in, to bring in’ (8), *göz* ‘eye’ (13), *gibi* ‘like, as’ (33), *gör-* ‘to see’ (55), *göwdä* ‘body, trunk’ (5), *gögürçin/gögürçün* ‘pigeon’ (2+3), *gümüş* ‘silver’ (9), *gečä* ‘night’ (2), *giy-* ‘to wear’ (11), *gölmäk* ‘shirt’ (4), *gel-* ‘to come’ (23), *geväsemäk getir-/geväse-* ‘chew the cud’ (2+6), *gez-* ‘to wander’ (8), *güz* ‘autumn, fall’ (1), *gir-* ‘to enter’ (5), *gömül* ‘heart’ (3), *gečir-* ‘to pass, to make somebody pass’ (2), *geč-* ‘to pass’ (2), *gečün-* ‘to live on, to pass away’ (2), *görä* ‘according to, as to’ (7), and *gök* ‘sky, heaven’ (1).

As can be seen, there are 11 verbal and 13 non-verbal items that show the voicing of the initial *k-*. In the Book, this characteristic appears in all 27 chapters. Among them, Chapter 13 (63 words), Chapter 23 (38 words), and Chapter 14 (28 words) show the highest numbers, while Chapter 1 (1 word), Chapter 2 (1 word), and Chapter 3 (2 words) show the least. Another important point for this property is that there are 8 items (4 verbal and 4 non-verbal) that show Oghuzic-Kipchak doublets: *getir-* ‘to bring’ (39) vs *ketir-/ketär-* ‘id.’ (19), *gögürçin* ‘pigeon’ (5) vs *kögürçin* ‘id.’ (4), *gümüş* ‘silver’ (9) vs *kümüş* ‘id.’ (1), *giy-* ‘to wear’ (11) vs *kiy-* ‘id.’ (1), *gel-* ‘to come’ (23) vs *kel-* ‘id.’ (2), and *gečir-* ‘to pass, to make somebody pass’ (2) vs *kečir-* ‘id.’ (1). For these doublets, it should be noted that the Oghuzic feature is predominant over that of the Kipchak (75% vs 25%).

Another voicing, initial *t-* to initial *d-*, also occurs in the Oghuz languages,³⁵ e.g. *diri* ‘alive’, *dilim* ‘slice’, and *değ-* ‘to touch’ in Turkish. However, in the Kipchak languages, the preservation of the original initial *t-* can be observed as expected,³⁶ e.g. *tiri* ‘alive’, *tilim* ‘slice’, and *tiy-* ‘to touch’ in Crimean Tatar³⁷ and *tiri* ‘alive’, *tigim* ‘slice’, and *tiy-* ‘to touch’ in Halitch Karaim. Once again, the examples in the Book of Leviticus exhibit the mentioned Oghuzic feature, as the voicing of the initial *t-* can be found: *diri* ‘alive’ (Lev 11:10), *dilim* ‘slice’ (Lev 6:14), and *deg-* ‘to touch’ (Lev 11:8). In the Book, this feature occurs 147 times in 25 different items: *doğ-* ‘to be born’ (22), *damla-* ‘to drip’ (1), *dolu* ‘full’ (4), *dişi* ‘female’ (1), *degin* ‘till, until’ (54), *dilim* ‘slice’ (1), *dürli/dürlü* ‘various’ (1+3), *deve* ‘camel’ (2), *deg-* ‘to touch’ (6), *deniz* ‘sea’ (3), *diri* ‘alive’ (3), *diril-* ‘to revive’ (2), *dört* ‘four’ (9), *düş-* ‘to fall’ (5), *düz* ‘open field’ (2), *doldur-* ‘to fill’ (2), *doğru* ‘straight, right’ (5), *dahi* ‘even, also’ (2), *diş* ‘tooth’ (2), *dane/danä* ‘grain, seed’ (1+1), *doquz* ‘nine’ (1), *dolğunja(h)* ‘fully’ (1), *dağın* ‘still, so far, more, yet’ (11), *demir* ‘iron’ (1), *duğan* ‘hawk’ (1).

Among these relevant items (6 verbal and 19 non-verbal), there are 10 that occur in the Book and show both Oghuzic and Kipchak doublets: *damla-* ‘to drip’ (1) vs *tamla-* ‘id.’ (1), *dişi* ‘female’ (1) vs *tişi* ‘id.’ (11), *dilim* ‘slice’ (1) vs *tilim* ‘id.’ (3), *dürli/dürlü* ‘various’ (4) vs *tür* ‘type, kind’ (1), *deg-* ‘to touch’ (6) vs *tiy-* ‘id.’ (24), *diri* ‘alive’ (3) vs *tiri* ‘id.’ (2), *diril-* ‘to revive’ (2) vs *tiril-* ‘id.’ (10), *düş-* ‘to fall’ (5) vs *tüş-* ‘id.’ (5), *düz* ‘open field’ (2) vs *tüz* ‘id.’ (3), *doldur-* ‘to fill’ (2) vs *toldur* ‘id.’ (3). For these

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 101.

³⁷ Zs. Kakuk, *Krimtatarisches Wörterverzeichnis*, Szeged 2012, p. 83, p. 88, p. 144.

doublents, the Kipchak characteristics are predominant over those of the Oghuzic (70% vs 30%). On the other hand, this voicing can be found in all chapters, except for Chapters 4, 9, and 10. As for the distribution, Chapter 11 (42 words), Chapter 15 (16 words), and Chapter 25 (15 words) show the highest numbers, while Chapters 2, 3, 5, 8, and 13 show only 1 relevant word for this property.

The next feature of note is the occasional disappearance of the original initial *b-* in the Oghuz languages.³⁸ As expected, the relevant examples occur without the initial *b-* in the Oghuz languages, e.g. *ol-* ‘to become, to happen’ and *ile-* ‘with’ in Turkish. However, in the Kipchak languages, examples occur with the initial *b-*, e.g. *bol-*, *bīla* in Halitch Karaim. The Book of Leviticus in the Gözleve Bible also presents exceptional cases that show parallelism with Oghuz examples, e.g. *ol-* ‘to become, to happen’ (Lev 4:13) and *ilen* ‘with’ (Lev 11:21). In the Book, this feature appears 42 times with the mentioned two lexical items (*ol-* 37 times and *ilen* 5 times). That is, there are no other words that display this property in the Book. Most of the examples occur in Chapter 11 (28 words), while the rest are evenly balanced between Chapters 1, 2, 4, 12, 20, 22, 24, and 26. In the Book, it is possible to find the Kipchak equivalents of these two words, as well: *ol-* (37) vs *bol-* (293) and *ilän* (5) vs *bilän* (188). Therefore, the occurrence of the initial *b-* is clearly predominant over the Oghuzic characteristic (92% vs 8%).

In the Oghuz languages, the spirantisation of the initial *v-* can also be found in some lexical items,³⁹ such as in *ver-* ‘to give’ and *var* ‘there is/are’ in Azeri⁴⁰ and Turkish. However, in the Kipchak languages, examples appear with the initial *b-*, e.g. *ber-* ‘to give’ and *bar* ‘there is/are’ in Kazakh⁴¹ and Halitch Karaim. In the Book of Leviticus in the Gözleve Bible, there are 88 related examples that display the spirantisation of the initial *b-*: *ver-* ‘to give’ (Lev 6:10) and *var* ‘there is/are’ (Lev 25:30). It should be pointed out that, although the letter bet (ב) can denote both *v* and *b*, all the examples displaying the spirantisation of the initial *b-* in the Book are written with the letter *vav* (ו), which clearly denotes *v* among the consonants. On the other hand, the Oghuzic-Kipchak doublets of this characteristics cannot be shared, as the Kipchak equivalents of these words do not occur in the Book.

The pronoun *ol*, which means ‘that’ or ‘he/she/it’, usually appears in the Oghuz languages without the end consonant *-l*. For example, in Turkish and Azeri,⁴² the pronoun appears as *o*. In the Kipchak languages, however, the pronoun appears with the ending consonant, e.g. *ol* in Kazakh⁴³ and Halitch Karaim. In 78 cases, *o* occurs in the Book, mostly as a definite article. It is also remarkable that, aside from one example in Chapter 7 (Lev 7:8), all the relevant examples occur in Chapter 11. For this property, the Kipchak

³⁸ Johanson, *The History of Turkic*, p. 98.

³⁹ Ibidem, pp. 102–103.

⁴⁰ Ə. Orucov, *Azərbaycan Dilinin İzanlı Luğeti*, Bakü 1987, Vol. 4, p. 471.

⁴¹ N. Nuraliyeva, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, Almaty 2008, p. 38.

⁴² Orucov, *Azərbaycan Dilinin İzanlı Luğeti*, Vol. 3, p. 430.

⁴³ Nuraliyeva, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, p. 144.

equivalent *ol* occurs 1377 times, mostly rendering the Hebrew definite article in the Book and clearly showing that the Kipchak characteristic is predominant against that of the Oghuzic (95% vs 5%).

3.2. Oghuzic Morphological Features

In this chapter, morphological characteristics in the Book will be discussed. Along with the highly dominant and expected Kipchak forms, the Book shows some Oghuz-type accusative, dative, and participle markers, as well.

In the Kipchak languages, the accusative marker is usually *–NI*.⁴⁴ Conversely, in some Oghuz languages, the accusative marker is *–(y)I*, *–(y)U*, *–(n)I*,⁴⁵ e.g. *onlar+ı* ‘3pl.+acc.’ and *bunlar+ı* ‘these+acc.’ in Turkish and Azeri. The expected accusative suffix in Karaim is *–NI*⁴⁶ and *–N* (after the 3sg.poss.), which can be found in The Book of Leviticus as well as in other varieties of Karaim, e.g. *alar+nı* ‘3pl.+acc.’ and *bular+nı* ‘these+acc.’ in Halitch Karaim. However, the Gözleve Bible also exhibits the typical Oghuz-type feature, e.g. *olar+ı* ‘3pl.+acc.’ (Lev 11:42) and *bular+ı* ‘these+acc.’ (Lev 11:4). Aside from these two examples, there are only two more that show the relevant Oghuzic influence in Chapter 11: *tırnaqlı+(y)ı* ‘the unguiculate+acc.’ (Lev 11:3) and *siz+i* ‘2pl.+acc.’ (Lev 11:45). Therefore, except for in Chapter 11, this type of accusative marker does not occur.

The dative marker usually appears as *–GA*⁴⁷ in the Kipchak languages, e.g. *olar+ga* ‘3pl.+dat.’ and *siz+ge* ‘2pl.+dat.’ in Crimean Tatar⁴⁸ and *alar+ga* ‘3pl.+dat.’ and *siz+ge* ‘2pl.+dat.’ in Halitch Karaim. In the Oghuz languages, the dative marker *–(y)A* can be found, e.g. *onlar+a* ‘3pl.+dat.’ and *siz+e* ‘2pl.+dat.’ in Turkish. Although the expected Karaim dative case marker is *–GA*,⁴⁹ some examples clearly show Oghuzic influence, as in *olar+a* ‘3pl.+dat.’ (Lev 11:31) and *siz+ä* ‘2pl.+dat.’ (Lev 11:35). In the corpus, this feature occurs 37 times in 5 different items: *siz+e/siz+ä* ‘2pl.+dat.’ (19), *o(n)+a* ‘3sg.+dat.’ (5), *ahşam+a* ‘evening+dat.’ (11), *olar+a* ‘3pl.+dat.’ (1), *ateş+ä* ‘fire+dat.’ (1). It is worth noting that 35 of the examples appear in Chapter 11. Thus, except for in Chapters 6, 11, and 15, this type of dative case marker does not appear in the Book.

The next examples will demonstrate the usage of a participle marker in the Turkic languages. For instance, the suffix *–GAn* is used as one of the participle markers in the Kipchak languages,⁵⁰ e.g. *že+gen* ‘to eat+part. = the one who eats’ and *kez+gen* ‘to

⁴⁴ Á. Berta, *Tatar and Bashkir, West Kipchak Languages*, M. Kirchner, *Kazakh and Karakalpak, Kirghiz*, É. Csató and B. Karakoç, *Noghay*, in: L. Johanson and É. Csató (eds.), *The Turkic Languages*, New York and London 1998, pp. 283–356.

⁴⁵ The relevant suffix occurs after the 3sg.poss.

⁴⁶ É. Csató, *Lithuanian Karaim*, “Journal of Endangered Languages”, Winter (2012), p. 38.

⁴⁷ Kirchner *Kazakh and Karakalpak*, p. 323.

⁴⁸ Kakuk, *Krimtatarisches Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 114, p. 129.

⁴⁹ Berta, *West Kipchak Languages*, p. 306.

⁵⁰ In Halitch Karaim, a different participle suffix, *–(X)wnı̄sX*, appears, e.g., *asawı̄su* ‘the one who eats’, *yiriwı̄si* ‘the one who wanders’.

wander+part. = the one who wanders' in Kazakh.⁵¹ The suffix *-GAn* appears as *-(y)An* in the Oghuz languages, e.g. in Turkish it is *yi(y)+en* 'to eat+participle = the one who eats' and *gez+en* 'to wander+participle = the one who wanders'. Although one of the participle suffixes generally occurs as *-GAn* in Crimean Karaim,⁵² the Oghuzic forms also appear: *ye(y)+en* 'to eat+part. = the one who eats' (Lev 11:40) and *gez+en* 'to wander+part. = the one who wanders' (Lev 11:42). In the Book, this influence can be found 13 times in 9 different items: *ye(y)+en* 'to eat+part. = the one who eats' (1), *gez+en* 'to wander+part. = the one who wanders' (2), *getir+en* 'to bring+part. = the one who brings' (2), *taşı(y)+an* 'to carry+part. = the one who carries' (1), *qaldır+an* 'to lift+part. = the one who lifts' (3), *qimilda(y)+an* 'to move+part. = the one who moves' (1), *doğur+an* 'to give birth+part. = the one who gives birth' (1), *qavurul+an* 'to be roasted+part. = the thing which is roasted' (1), *çıqaran* 'to take out+part. = the one who takes out' (1). Aside from 1 example in Chapter 23, all examples only occur in Chapter 11.

3.3. Oghuzic Lexical Items

In addition to the Oghuzic phonological and morphological features, some typical Oghuzic lexical items can also be observed in the corpus. For instances, *çok*, meaning 'many' or 'much', usually appears in the Oghuz languages, e.g. as *çok* in Turkish and *cox* in Azeri.⁵³ However, *köp* is usually used in the Kipchak languages such as Kazakh.⁵⁴ In the corpus, there are four examples in which *çok* can be found.

The next lexical item *dügül*, which means 'not', can be found nine times in the Book. The item shows parallelism with the Oghuz languages, as it is *değil* in Turkish and in *deyil*⁵⁵ in Azeri. The Kipchak equivalent of this item usually appears in different forms, e.g. *emes* in Kazakh. However, other Karaim variants also show parallelism, as with *tiwil* in Halitch Karaim.

Finally, the item *yag*, which means 'fat', can be found 102 times in the Book. This item usually appears in both the Oghuz languages and in Karaim, such as *yağ* in Turkish and *yaw* in Halitch Karaim. In other Kipchak languages, such as Kazakh, the word *may* usually appears.

Consequently, there are altogether 11 different Oghuzic lexical items that occur in 139 cases throughout the Book: *ensä* 'back of the neck' (1), *başqa(h)* 'other, another' (4), *en-* 'to come down' (1), *degiş-* 'to change' (17), *eksik* 'lacking, absent' (1), *yag* 'fat' (102), *dügül/degil* 'not' (9), and *çok* 'many, much' (4).

⁵¹ Nuraliyeva, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, p. 75, p. 89, p. 116.

⁵² Berta, *West Kipchak Languages*, p. 313.

⁵³ Orucov, *Azerbaycan Dilinin İzanlı Luğeti*, Vol. 2, p. 48.

⁵⁴ Nuraliyeva, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, p. 128.

⁵⁵ Orucov, *Azerbaycan Dilinin İzanlı Luğeti*, vol. 2, p. 48.

Conclusion

As shown in this study, several characteristics typical of the Oghuz Turkic languages can be found in the Book of Leviticus in the Gözleve Bible. These features occur at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels.

It is important to mention the distribution of Oghuzic features throughout the Book. There are altogether 919 Oghuzic element examples in the Book: 726 phonological (79%), 54 morphological (6%), and 139 lexical (15%). Among the Oghuzic phonological characteristics, the voicing of the initial *k-* (%51) shows the highest number. In regard to Oghuzic morphological characteristics, the Oghuzic dative case marker (69%) shows the large number of examples. Although Oghuzic phonological or morphological properties occur in all 27 chapters, some chapters in the Book exhibit remarkable characteristics. Most of these can be found in Chapter 11, which contains 169 phonological and 51 morphological Oghuzic features and 1 Oghuzic lexical item. It is also worth noting that the Crimean demonstrative pronoun *ol* only occurs as *o* in Chapter 11, except for one example in Chapter 7 (i.e. 99% occur in Chapter 11). Additionally, while some lexical elements (e.g. *oglan* ‘son’, *da* ‘and’) occur in almost every chapter, only in Chapter 11⁵⁶ are these items changed with their Arabic origin equivalents, which were also common in Ottoman Turkish (e.g. *evlad* ‘child’⁵⁷ vs *oglan* ‘son’, *ve* ‘and’ vs. *da* ‘id.’) Another notable point is that 94% of the Oghuzic morphological examples occur in this chapter.

Among the other chapters that show the next highest amounts of Oghuzic elements, Chapter 14 (90 examples), Chapter 13 (70 examples), and Chapter 25 (51 examples) are worth mentioning, whereas Chapter 21 (7), Chapter 1 (9), and Chapter 17 (9) show the least.

In the Book, among the Oghuzic lexical items, the distribution of the word *yag* is evenly balanced, which was expected as it is also used in Karaim. For all other Oghuzic lexical items, Chapter 14, with 51 examples, shows the highest number. It must be noted that, except for Chapter 11, the lexicon in the Book does not show the Oghuzic/Kipchak doublets.

As it was shown, the Book also often displays the expected Kipchak forms. Since the Oghuzic morphological items only occur three times (except for in Chapter 11), and the Oghuzic lexical items do not appear together with their Kipchak equivalents, only the proportions of Oghuzic/Kipchak phonological doublets in the Book of Leviticus were discussed in this study. Of these phonological doublets, only the voicing of the initial *k-* is predominant in the Book, while Kipchak characteristics are predominant for other features. On the other hand, the corpus shows that 11 different Oghuzic lexical items and 31 different Oghuz type phonological examples (16 elements for the voicing of

⁵⁶ There is only one exceptional example which *ve* ‘and’ occurs in chapter 27 for one time.

⁵⁷ Although this Arabic word is the plural form of *veled* ‘son’, it is common to use these two words as they are in the singular form in some Turkic languages.

initial *k*- and 15 elements for the voicing of initial *t*-) do not occur with their Kipchak equivalents in the Book of Leviticus.

Finally, regarding the data, it can be claimed that Chapters 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 26, and 27 show the largest number of Oghuzic elements, while the other chapters show the least.

As previously discussed, the Oghuzic influence in the Book of Leviticus in the Gözleve Bible is the result of the wider influence of Ottoman Turkish. Another notable point is that, as a sacred written source, the Book of Leviticus presents different forms for the same words in the same chapters. Possible reasons for this may be a lack of standardisation in Karaim and/or the different compilers and manuscripts.

Abbreviations

acc. = accusative; dat. = dative; part. = participle; poss. = possession; Lev = the Book of Leviticus; sg. = singular; pl. = plural

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